

THE DECREES OF THE FATHERS AND THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS IN HERIGER OF LOBBES' *VITA REMACLI*

The large number of rewritten saints' lives reveals how the past was reevaluated and reinterpreted during the middle ages. As scholars have noticed for some time, the alterations made to hagiographic texts and the new elements introduced into rewritten *vitae* can illuminate the time of rewriting with remarkable clarity.¹ *Vitae* could be rewritten for a variety of different purposes. The most oft-mentioned goal aimed at improving the clarity and style of the writing, a concern of prime importance beginning in the Carolingian period, when educational reforms led churchmen to deem many *vitae* written in the preceding centuries unworthy of their subject matter.² However, we should be wary of hagiographers who would have us believe from their prologues that they made nothing beyond stylistic changes to their exemplars. The rewriting of a *vita* provided the perfect opportunity to "update" the biography with details of contemporary relevance, such as an indication that a saint had in fact been given an important tract of land that had since fallen into dispute, that a saint had formed friendships with other saints of the same time and place which now needed to be stressed by certain institutions, or that a saint possessed political or cultural values that were not emphasized in the earlier biography but were considered important at the time of rewriting. A rewritten *vita* could be a forum for intellectual and cultural reflections on the part of the hagiographer, and it is largely this aspect which concerns the present exploration.

1. For this method demonstrated, see Léopold GENICOT, "*Discordiae concordantium* : sur l'intérêt des textes hagiographiques," *Académie royale de Belgique : Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques*, sér. 5, vol. 51 (1965) : 65-75.

2. See Monique GOULLET, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques : essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIII^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 33-45.

In the 970s, Heriger,³ the schoolmaster of the monastery of Lobbes, was called upon to refurbish the biography of St. Remaclus, a seventh-century bishop-abbot who had founded, or had persuaded King Sigisbert III to found, the monasteries of Stavelot and Malmedy in the Ardennes. Remaclus was the main patron of Stavelot, where a monk had written his earliest biography in the ninth century.⁴ At several points in his *Vita secunda Remacli*, Heriger expands liberally on his exemplar.⁵ Two of the lengthiest expansions occur at points which Heriger (and probably his patron, Bishop Notker) saw as particularly pivotal: Remaclus' abdication of the episcopal office in order to pursue the monastic life, and Remaclus' final speech to his brethren on the right way of living. In the first episode, Heriger draws from legal sources to grapple with the issue of episcopal abdication and follows with a defense of the social benefits of the contemplative life. The farewell speech of Remaclus incorporates a flood of quotations from ancient pagan authors, most notably Horace and Cicero. Heriger's placement of these proverbs amidst Christian ideals shows a remarkable attempt to harmonize pagan and Christian wisdom from an author who, like many of his contemporaries, was steeped in both sacred and profane literature.

Both expansions show how Heriger drew from long-established traditions in new ways, and how he used hagiography as a means to

3. On Heriger of Lobbes, see Sylvain BALAU, *Les sources de l'histoire de Liège au moyen âge : étude critique* (Brussels, 1903), pp. 121-143; Oskar HIRZEL, *Abl Heriger von Lobbes, 990-1007* (Leipzig, 1910); and F. J. WORSTBROCK, "Heriger von Lobbes," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters : Verfasserlexikon* 3 (Berlin, 1981), cols. 1044-1048.

4. *Vita prima Remacli* (BHL 7113-7114), ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5 (1910), pp. 104-108 (hereafter indicated as *Vita prima*). Krusch omits the episode involving Remaclus' interaction with St. Trudo (Trond), in AASS Sept. I (1746), cols. 693C-694F, because it borrowed loosely from the seventh-century *Vita Trudonis* (BHL 8321). Godefroid KURTH, "Notice sur la plus ancienne biographie de saint Remacle," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, sér. 4, vol. 3 (1876): 355-368, treats the *Vita prima Remacli* harshly as a mere series of borrowings from other local hagiography.

5. The *Vita secunda Remacli* (BHL 7115) was subsequently incorporated into Heriger's *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, a history of the diocese from its imagined foundation in the first century to Remaclus' life in the seventh. The only modern edition of the *Vita secunda Remacli* is contained in Rodulf KÖPKE's edition of the *Gesta pontificum*: MGH SS 7 (1846), pp. 166-189. I cite from Köpke's edition – the chapters reflect those of the *Gesta pontificum* (c. 40-56 = *Vita Remacli*) – and note any discrepancies with the better manuscripts of the *Gesta pontificum* (e.g. AVERBODE ABBEY, no. 12: saec. xvi) or the independently circulating manuscripts of the *Vita secunda Remacli* (e. g. VATICAN, BAV, Reg. lat. 615, f. 2v-50r, and BRUSSELS, KBR II. 1180, f. 1r-24r). Krusch's edition of the *Epistola ad Werinfridum*, which prefaced the *Vita Remacli* (and later the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*), uses these independently circulating manuscripts, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5, pp. 109-111.

address important issues of his own time. By projecting his views onto one of the great founder-saints of the diocesan past, he was assuring the transmission of these ideas to future generations.⁶

The Vita secunda Remacli (972-980)

We are relatively well-informed of the circumstances of Heriger's rewriting of the *Vita Remacli*. Towards the beginning of the pontificate of Notker of Liège (972-1008), the abbot of the imperial monastery of Stavelot, Werinfrid (954-980), asked Notker to see to the revision of the biography of Remaclus, who had been counted among the bishops of Tongeren-Maastricht-Liège as early as the eighth century.⁷ Werinfrid was likely impressed by the efficiency with which Notker had handled the recent leadership crisis at the monastery of Lobbes, where the irascible Rather (freshly chased from the see of Verona for a third and final time) had usurped control from the young abbot Folcuin.⁸ Notker decided in Folcuin's favor and encouraged Rather to be content with the nearby monastery of Aulne. Rather, one of the most impressive figures of the tenth century, had originally been a monk at Lobbes.⁹ In the course of his turbulent career, he had even served as bishop of Liège before being driven out by local factions. As we will see, Rather's career and writings had an impact on Heriger's *Vita Remacli*.

The inquiry at Lobbes was perhaps the circumstance under which Notker and Heriger first met. The latter would serve as the former's secretary and intellectual associate for the next decade or so. While

6. As the later incorporation of the entire *Vita secunda Remacli* into the larger diocesan history of Tongeren-Maastricht-Liège suggests, Heriger's intended audience may not have been limited to the monks of Stavelot.

7. E.g. in DONATUS' *Vita Trudonis*, c. 5, ed. W. LEVISON, MGH SS rer. Merov. 6 (1913), p. 279¹⁴⁻¹⁵. Jean-Louis KUPPER does not include Remaclus in his critical list of the bishops of Tongeren-Maastricht-Liège, in *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis* 5.1, ed. S. WEINFURTER and O. ENGELS (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 43-83.

8. Folcuin himself provides us with the details of the affair: *Gesta abbatum Lobien-sium*, c. 28, ed. G. PERTZ, MGH SS 4 (1841), p. 70. See Alain DIERKENS, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse: VII^e-XI^e siècles* (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 121-122. An excerpt from an earlier version of Folcuin's work which includes the detail that Rather had been Folcuin's godfather was discovered by François DOLBEAU, "Nouvelles recherches sur les manuscrits et l'œuvre de Rathier," *Sacris Erudiri* 27 (1984): 373-431, here, pp. 421-423.

9. On Rather, see Erich AUERBACH, *Literary language and its public in late Latin antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. R. MANHEIM (London, 1965 [original German edition, 1958]), pp. 133-152; Benny REECE, *Learning in the tenth century* (Greenville, 1968); and Peter L. D. REID, *The complete works of Rather of Verona* (Binghamton, 1991), pp. 3-20.

writing the *Vita Remacii*, Heriger and Notker hatched the idea to record the deeds of all the bishops of the diocese of Tongeren-Maastricht-Liège up to Notker's own time. This endeavor, though only completed up through the biography of Remacius, was the first *gesta episcoporum* to grow out of the Ottonian church.¹⁰ In addition, Heriger wrote an account of the life and posthumous discovery of the relics of St. Landoald and his associates for the monastery of Saint-Bavo of Ghent. Because this last text draws from the *Gesta pontificum* and bears the dating formula of 19 June 980, we can place the composition of the *Vita secunda Remacii* sometime between 972 and 980.¹¹

There is some degree of uncertainty regarding the level of Notker's input in the hagiographic texts that he commissioned Heriger to compose. This is complicated by the fact that the *Vita Remacii* and the *Vita Landoaldi* are both prefaced by letters in Notker's name. Independent medieval authors name Heriger as the author of the *vitae* in question and it seems unlikely that the letter-preface to Werinfrid and the main portion of the *Vita Remacii* were written by two different authors.¹² Nonetheless, even if Notker cannot be awarded "author" status, the level of his collaboration on the issues presented in the *Vita Remacii* was potentially very high.

10. On this text see J. R. WEBB, "Cathedrals of words: bishops and the deeds of their predecessors in Lotharinga, 950-1100" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008), pp. 123-181.

11. The composition date is probably closer to 972 than to 980, since Werinfrid died that year: *Annales Stabulenses*, ed. G. WAITZ, MGH SS 13 (1881), p. 43¹⁰. The *Vita, translatio, et miracula Landoaldi et sociorum* (BHL 4706c) is preserved in its original manuscript, one large (63 × 50 cm) piece of parchment, ed. M. GYSSELING and A.C.F. KOCH, *Diplomata belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta* 1 (Brussels, 1950), pp. 235-244. See WEBB, "Cathedrals of words," pp. 107-118.

12. This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the authorship problem. Heriger probably performed epistolary functions for Notker similar to those of Gerbert of Aurillac on behalf of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims around the same time. The letter to Werinfrid may well have been a collaborative effort. Cf. Godefroid KURTH, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au X^e siècle* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 332-342, whose analysis is not without problems. Franz BRUNHÖLZ, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich, 1992), p. 288, questioned the attribution to Heriger, but did not address the contemporary evidence from a monk of Saint-Bavo, which establishes, at least for the *Vita Landoaldi*, that Heriger was indeed the author: *Elevatio Landoaldi* (BHL 4708), c. 3, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, MGH SS 15.2 (1888), p. 610¹⁰⁻¹¹. Robert BABCOCK, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising florilegium: a study of the influence of classical Latin poetry in the middle ages* (Frankfurt, 1984), pp. 181-182, attributes the texts in question to Heriger. Clemens BAYER has recently revisited the issue and argues for Notkerian authorship; see his, "Notger de Liège écrivain," in *Notger et son temps*, ed. A. WILKIN and J.-L. KUPPER (Liège), forthcoming.

Abbot Werinfrid marveled at the paucity of details that his predecessors had managed to assemble in the *Vita prima* in light of the magnitude of the deeds Remaclus was believed to have accomplished.¹³ He was especially concerned that some of the early charters of donation from Merovingian kings — a codex of which had been compiled in the mid-tenth century — had not been utilized in the earlier biography.¹⁴ Heriger obliged by incorporating portions of these charters into his *Vita Remacli*.¹⁵

Scholars have called attention to Heriger's *Vita Remacli* as an important source for ecclesiastical politics in Lotharingia during one of its most formative phases. Jean-Louis Kupper and Philippe George have recently placed the *Vita secunda Remacli* within the context of Notker's larger efforts of diocesan consolidation.¹⁶ One of the main goals of this new *Vita Remacli* was to help quell the burgeoning rivalry between Stavelot and its sister monastery, Malmedy.¹⁷ By

13. We learn this from the *Epistola ad Werinfridum*, p. 109²¹⁻²²: "...obtulisti libellum de vita tam nostri quam vestri specialis patroni, domni scilicet Remagli, conquestus propter incuriam tamen praedecessorum vestrorum brevius quam ut res exposcularet pro magnitudine gestorum eius esse editam."

14. The "Codex Stabulensis" (BAMBERG, *Staatsbibliothek*, Hist. 161) was first compiled a few decades before Heriger's writing and later added to as new diplomata were acquired. Werinfrid, head of the abbey's writing office during the abbacy of Odilo (938-954), perhaps saw to the original compilation of the codex himself. Two color miniatures, one of St. Remaclus and another of King Sigisbert III bestowing a scroll of privileges on Remaclus, appear at the beginning of the *Vita prima* (f. 11v) and the beginning of the charter-section (f. 109v), respectively. Theo KÖLZER labels two of the five Merovingian charters copied into the codex Stabulensis forgeries, and one interpolated: MGH DD Merov. 1: *Die Urkunden der Merowinger* 1 (2001), nos. 81, 84, 108, 124, 139. For the full contents of the codex, see Karl REIGER, *Der Codex Stabulensis der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg: eine kritische Untersuchung* (Vienna, 1882), pp. 17-19. For a paleographic analysis, see Hartmut HOFFMANN, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften der MGH 39 (1995), pp. 138-139. Now see the forthcoming contribution of Nicolas MAZEURE in *Nolger et son temps*.

15. Heriger expresses familiarity with Stavelot's cartulary in the *Epistola ad Werinfridum*, p. 109²⁷⁻²⁸: "ex cartulario vestro non desit notitia." I agree with BALAU, *Sources*, pp. 133-134, that the additional passages in the independently circulating manuscripts of the *Vita secunda Remacli*, which do not appear in the *Gesta pontificum* (c. 54), are slightly later interpolations from Stavelot-Malmedy and not the result of a decision by Heriger to edit them out of the *Gesta pontificum*. The additions are partially edited by KRUSCH, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5, p. 111. On the earliest manuscript of Heriger's *Vita Remacli* (VATICAN, BAV, Reg. lat. 615), see Hartmut HOFFMANN, "Echte und nachgeahmte Fuldaer Schrift aus ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit," in *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. G. SCHRIMPF (Frankfurt, 1996), pp. 285-297, here, p. 289.

16. Jean-Louis KUPPER and Philippe GEORGE, "Hagiographie et politique autour de l'an mil: l'évêque de Liège Notger et l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy," in *Scribere sanctorum gesta: Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, ed. É. RENARD et al. (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 441-450. See also WEBB, "Cathedrals of words," pp. 99-104.

17. Indeed, nearly all of the subsequent hagiography produced by the monasteries

asserting Remaclus' preference for Stavelot and providing more details on the specific location of Remaclus' burial place — which was unknown until its (re)discovery during mid-eleventh-century building improvements — Heriger affirmed Stavelot's dominance over Malmedy as well as the legal precedent for Stavelot's right to elect an abbot to preside over both houses.¹⁸

On a more cultural plane, Guy Philippart has considered Heriger's preface to the *Vita Remacii* as an indication of his theological views on saintly power, free will, and predestination, ultimately suggesting that Heriger, in contrast to his abbot, Folcuin, viewed the aid that saints provide humans as pertaining largely to the present world.¹⁹ This is indeed borne out elsewhere in the *Vita Remacii*. Scholars have also explored the sources for Heriger's description of Aquitaine, Remaclus' birthplace, which Heriger perceived as a land of saintly abundance thanks to other local hagiography.²⁰ In fact, the prevalence of Aquitanian missionary saints led hagiographers of Lotharingia and northern France to attribute Aquitanian origins to their heroes whenever possible.²¹

of Stavelot and Malmedy in the eleventh century attests to the efforts of the monks of Malmedy to extricate themselves from their subservience to Stavelot. See François BAIX, "L'hagiographie à Stavelot-Malmedy," *Revue bénédictine* 60 (1950): 120-162.

18. The discovery of Remaclus' tomb is commemorated in the *Inventio corporis Remacii anno 1038 et dedicatio ecclesiae Stabulensis anno 1040* (BHL 7139), ed. HALKIN and ROLAND, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy* 1 (Brussels, 1909), no. 103, pp. 215-220, on which see Philippe GEORGE, "Les reliques de Stavelot et de Malmedy à l'honneur vers 1040: *Dedicatio et inventio Stabulensis*," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 99 (2004): 347-370.

19. GUY PHILIPPART, "Le saint comme parure de Dieu, héros séducteur et patron terrestre d'après les hagiographies lotharingiens du X^e siècle," in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Rome, 1991), pp. 123-142. See below, n. 39.

20. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 41, p. 181¹⁴⁻²¹. In addition to Heriger's use of Orosius (*Historia adversum paganos* 1.2.67), Jacques STIENNON, "Une description peu connue de l'Aquitaine par Hériger de Lobbes (†1007)," *Annales du Midi* 72 (1960): 273-286, posited a number of inspirations for Heriger's vision of Aquitaine, including a personal acquaintance with a native of the region, Gerbert of Aurillac (then at Reims). However, Robert Babcock has recently revealed that the main passage in question was in fact adapted from Hilduin of St-Denis' description of Athens; see R. BABCOCK, "The description of Aquitania by Heriger of Lobbes and the *Passio sancti Dionysii* of Hilduin of St. Denis," *Latomus* 67 (2008): 1010-1016.

21. For instance, later manuscripts of the *Vita Vedastis* endow St. Vaast with Aquitanian origins even though his earlier hagiographers, Jonas of Bobbio and Alcuin, place him in Toul: *Vita Vedastis* (BHL 8503), ed. KRUSCH, MGH SS rer. Merov. 3 (1896), pp. 413-414. See Charles MÉRIAUX, "Des missionnaires venus de toute l'Europe dans le nord de la Neustrie (VI^e-VII^e siècle)? Réalité historique et postérité littéraire d'un thème hagiographique," in *Les hommes en Europe*, ed. P. MARCILLLOUX (Paris, 2002), pp. 171-194, here, pp. 173-174, who is nonetheless willing to believe that Vaast was actually from Aquitaine. St. Hubert of Maastricht-Liège (†727) waited until the twelfth century to become Aquitanian: NICOLAS OF LIÈGE, *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4688), AASS Sept. V

Heriger's *Vita Remacli* contains many more expansions than his theological preface and geographical set-up. Each expansion has the potential to reveal the program of studies, the level of learning, and an influential mind of late-tenth-century Lotharingia.²² The schools of Liège peaked in the first half of the eleventh century, when Liège was perhaps the most esteemed center of learning in western Europe. Heriger is an early testament to this flourishing and an important link in the intellectual chain between the Carolingian period and the eleventh century.

Abdicatio episcopii

The *Vita prima* had indicated that, shortly after the founding of the monasteries of Stavelot and Malmedy, Remaclus had abandoned the episcopal charge over the diocese of Tongeren-Maastricht in search of monastic solitude. For the ninth-century hagiographer, Remaclus obtains the necessary permission to relinquish his office from the king.²³ Remaclus' flock appears helpless to prevent this *fait accompli*, and their role is limited to a few lines of futile protest:

What are we wretched people, who have lost such a pastor, to do? Where will we find consolation, when he had been our consoler and guardian? Who will comfort us from now on, when he had been the caretaker for our bodies and souls? Where are we to find hope, when such a pastor has abandoned us?²⁴

(1755), col. 611C (though cf. *Annales Lobienses*, written in the 970s, ed. WAITZ, MGH SS 13, p. 227²³⁻²⁴). According to BAIX, "L'hagiographie à Stavelot-Malmedy," p. 122: "les hagiographes ont 'emprunté' le nom de cette 'terre fertile et populeuse', à l'honneur de saints personnages dont la provenance même leur était douteuse ou inconnue." This issue will presumably be addressed in proceedings of the 2005 CЕСSM conference held at Poitiers, to be published as *Saints d'Aquitaine sans frontières au haut moyen âge*, ed. E. BOZOKY, *Hagiologia* 7 (Turnhout), forthcoming.

22. Heriger's contemporaries attest to his reputation for learning: e.g. *Elevatio Landoaldi* (BHL 4708: written 982-990), c. 3, p. 610⁴¹⁻⁴²: "domnum Herigerum didascalum ac musicae artis peritum." *Vita secunda Adalhardi* (BHL 60: saec. xi), prol., AASS Jan. I (1643), p. 111: "qui eo tempore inter sapientes habebatur sapientissimus." SIGEBERT OF GEMBLOUX, *Chronica*, anno 994, ed. L. BETHMANN, MGH SS 6 (1844), p. 353³⁷⁻³⁸: "Florebant hoc tempore in scientia litterarum in Lotharingia Herigerus abbas Lobiensis, Adelboldus episcopus Vultrajectensis; in Francia, Fulbertus episcopus Carnotensis, Abbo abbas Floriacensis."

23. *Vita prima Remacli*, c. 5, p. 107¹⁻³.

24. *Vita prima Remacli*, c. 5, p. 107⁶⁻⁹: "Quid facturi sumus nos miseri, qui talem amittimus pastorem? Unde recipiemus consolationem, cum ipse esset consolator et munimen? Quis medebitur nobis ultra, cum ipse fuerit curator corporum et animarum? Unde nobis spes, cum destituimur tanto pastore?" This particular episode is derived from the seventh-century *Vita Arnulfi episcopi Mellensis* (BHL 689), c. 18, ed. KRUSCH, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2 (1888), p. 440, where Arnulf too is met with the pro-

Reminiscent of an earlier scene in diocesan history, when St. Servatius had abandoned his flock at Tongeren to the oncoming slaughter of the Huns, Remaclus commends his followers to God and departs.²⁵

Heriger develops this episode significantly by portraying Remaclus’ abdication with greater tension. First, Heriger stresses that this royal permission was only obtained with great difficulty.²⁶ He retains the initial laments of the flock in the *Vita prima*, but then uses the scene to dive into an argument about the legality of episcopal abdication. He places in the mouths of a group he calls the “more sensible” (*prudenteriores*) members of Remaclus’ flock a sophisticated argument against Remaclus’ abdication drawn from canon law and diocesan history. At the outset, the *prudenteriores* appeal to the “decrees of the fathers” (*statuta patrum*): “Once a charge has been accepted, one is not permitted to renounce it voluntarily unless compelled by illness.”²⁷ This assertion results from an interpretation of a letter of Pope Gregory the Great, which Heriger proceeds to quote.²⁸ At issue

tests of his flock as he retreats to a monastery. Arnulf’s initial request to leave his see is met with violent threats from the king, c. 17, p. 439.

25. The *Vita Arnulfi* (see previous note) also inspired the *Vita antiquissima Servatii* (BHL 7611), c. 5, ed. KRUSCH, MGH SS rer. Merov. 3, p. 89. See LÉON VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les vitae des saints mérovingiens de l’ancienne Belgique* (Louvain, 1907), *passim*, for the influence of the *Vita Arnulfi* on subsequent hagiography.

26. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 49, p. 185⁴¹⁻⁴² : “Tandem licet difficillime impetravit tamen a rege, ut alius sibi succederet, et sibi diu desideratam heremum adire liceret, ubi remotus a curis secularibus liberius inhiaret caelestibus.” Cf. above, n. 23.

27. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 50, pp. 185⁵⁸-186¹ : “Gregem, ut patrum statuta decernunt, quem semel regendum susceperis, nisi infirmitate cogente, et ultroneus renuntiare non permittis.”

28. Heriger’s use of Gregory the Great in this instance has not been hitherto noticed.

HERIGER, <i>Vita Remacii</i> , c. 50, p. 186 ¹⁻⁶ :	GREGORY I, <i>Registrum epistolarum</i> 13.6 (JE 1872 : Nov. 602), ed. D. NORBERG, CCSL 140A (1982), pp. 1000-1001 :
Quamdiu enim vivit episcopus, quem ab officio suo necessitas infirmitatis, non crimen abducit, alium loco ejus nisi ipso recusante et scripto petitionem probante, ordinatio nulla sinit. Etiam mente capto, si intervalla egritudinis habere est solitus, nihilominus nisi petitione data annuat, non debet succedere alius. Enimvero si nullo tempore ad sanae mentis redit officium, persona fidelis ac vitae probabilis est eligenda, qui vices ejus eo vivente tantum suppleat, et defuncto ordinari digne successor valeat.	Et ideo quia vivente episcopo, quem ab officio suo necessitas infirmitatis, non crimen abducit, alium loco ejus, nisi requirente eo, nulla sinit ratio ordinari, si intervalla aegritudinis habere est solitus, ipse data petitione nec se ulterius ad hoc ministerium, intellectualia nempe officia subvertente infirmitate, posse fateatur assurgere et alium loco suo expetat ordinandum... Enimvero si nullo tempore ad sanae mentis redit officium, persona fidelis ac vitae probabilis eligenda, quae ad regimen ecclesiae idonea possit existere atque de animarum utilitate cogitare, inquietos sub disciplinae vincla restringere, ecclesiasticarum rerum curam gerere et maturum atque efficacem se in omnibus exhibere. Qui etiam, si episcopo, qui nunc aegrotat, superstes exstiterit, loco ejus debeat consecrari.

for Gregory was a bishop who suffered from a serious illness (an affliction of the head) which induced him to do “crazy” things.²⁹ Gregory’s solution was to encourage the ailing bishop, if moments of sanity returned to him, to complete a written petition requesting that another be placed in his stead on account of his own infirmity.³⁰ Heriger seizes on this issue in order to argue that short of mental or physical incapacity — or deposition for some crime — bishops could not voluntarily abdicate. Had Remaclus even rendered a petition, the people admit that they would have rejected it: his reasons for departure did not meet the criteria outlined in Gregory’s letters.

The protests of the flock continue along legalistic lines. Remaclus is warned that by disobeying this “way promulgated by the fathers” he will make an adulterer out of the church. This notion of adultery evokes the traditional image of the spiritual marriage between a bishop and his church.³¹ Though the terminology for adultery ultimately stems from the New Testament, Heriger’s arguments here are inspired by legal sources as well. The assertion that the rules of adultery set forth in Matthew (e.g. 5:32 and 19:9) are to apply to bishops and their sees is stressed by Pseudo-Isidore, and it points to the use of this important legal collection at this time and place.³²

According to an eleventh-century inventory, the library of Lobbes did not possess a copy of Gregory’s *Registrum*; see François DOLBEAU, “Un nouveau catalogue des manuscrits de Lobbes aux XI^e et XII^e siècles,” *Recherches augustiniennes* 13-14 (1978-1979): 3-36, 191-248. JE 1872 was included in the manuscript group “R” of Gregory’s *Registrum*, which had a relatively wide circulation; see Detlev JASPER, “The beginning of the Decretal tradition,” in *Papal letters in the early middle ages* (Washington, 2001), pp. 71-81. Heriger may well have gotten the text of the letter from JOHN THE DEACON’S *Vita Gregorii magni* 4.39 (BHL 3641), who quotes it directly: PL 105, col. 203. If so, Heriger would have had to disregard John’s statement to introduce this group of letters: “Pontificibus voluntarie suis renuntiantibus sedibus successores Gregorius nullo modo denegabat,” col. 202B. The Lobbes catalogue lists two *vitae Gregorii*: DOLBEAU, nos. 190 and 196.

29. GREGORY I, *Registrum* 13.6 (JE 1872), p. 1000⁷⁻⁹: “Pervenit igitur ad nos quibusdam referentibus quendam episcopum ita passionem capitis incurrisse, ut, quid mente alienata agere soleat, gemitus et fletus audire sit.”

30. A similar case appears in an earlier letter of Gregory’s (JE 1819), where the emperor himself sought the deposition of an ill bishop: *Registrum* 11.29, pp. 917-918. Gregory’s response is similar to JE 1872: the bishop can fill out a petition to request that he be relieved of his duties. But Gregory refuses to depose the bishop at the emperor’s bidding, stating that he will bear the emperor’s violation of canon law insofar as he can avoid sinning.

31. On this theme see Jean GAUDEMET, “Note sur le symbolisme médiéval: le mariage de l’évêque,” *L’année canonique* 22 (1978): 71-80, and more recently, Megan McLAUGHLIN, “The bishop as bridegroom: marital imagery and clerical celibacy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,” in *Medieval purity and piety: essays on medieval clerical celibacy and religious reform*, ed. M. FRASSETTO (New York, 1998), pp. 209-237.

32. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae* (Evaristus 2: JK 421), ed. K.-G. SCHÖN and K1. ZECHIEL-ECKES, <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/016.htm>; cf. ed. HINSCHIUS

Heriger employs lessons from the diocesan past as a potential deterrent to Remaclus' departure. This was not the first time in the history of the diocese of Tongeren-Maastricht that a pastor had abandoned his flock. Servatius, not invoked by the *prudenciores*, could have been accused of deserting his people, though he had been ordered to do so directly by St. Peter. Remaclus' immediate predecessor, Amand, had famously "shaken the dust from his feet" and withdrawn from Maastricht when the local clergy proved too insolent. Heriger would soon describe these cases in more detail in his *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*. Heriger abandons the temporal anchor in the speech of the *prudenciores* when he has them contrast the actions of Remaclus, who is evading his charge, with those of his successors, who will leave their flock not through flight but through martyrdom: "While you evade your direction of us (*subterfugis*), and your predecessor Amand withdrew from us, shaking the dust from his feet, it may happen that your successors [will abandon us] not merely by fleeing, but by being cast to death."³³ Heriger was alluding to the martyrdoms of Remaclus' immediate successors, Theodard and Lambert.

In a final appeal to Remaclus' pastoral responsibilities, the people reiterate that they have done nothing to merit Remaclus' abandonment of them, an argument linked to the marriage imagery invoked earlier and the injustice of divorcing a wife who has not committed adultery. They are very concerned with the ignominy that their reputation will suffer as a result of Remaclus' voluntary departure. Heriger closes their plea with an allusion to God's sparing of the city of Nineveh against Jonah's wishes, and adds that: "God prefers penance to the death of sinners."³⁴

(Leipzig, 1863), p. 90. See GAUDEMET, "Note sur le symbolisme médiéval," pp. 74-76. This letter from Pseudo-Evaristus was later used by BURCHARD OF WORMS, *Decretorum libri viginti* 1.76, PL 140, col. 568B-D, see below, pp. 47-48.

33. HERIGER, *Vita Remacli*, c. 50, p. 186²²⁻²⁵: "successores fortassis tuos non modo fugandos, sed morti obitiendos, dum et tu nostrum regimen subterfugis, et beatus Amandus qui te praecessit pulverem pedum recedens in nobis excussit." Heriger retains the biblical expression "pulverem pedum recedens in nobis excussit" (Mark 6:11), used in the *Vita prima Amandi* (BHL 332), c. 18, ed. KRUSCH, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5 (1910), p. 443²⁻⁵, not only in this chapter, but also earlier in the *Vita Remacli* (c. 42, p. 182²⁻⁵); he repeats it again in *Gesta pontificum*, c. 36, p. 180⁵⁻⁶.

34. HERIGER, *Vita Remacli*, c. 50, p. 186²⁵⁻²⁷: "Verum Deus omnipotens ad propitiandum facilis et clemens, prophetam super edera repente marcida increpans contristatum (Jonah 4:10), approbat se super opus creationis suae si pereat multo magis constrictandum, et *malle poenitentiam quam morlem peccatorum*." This last phrase is in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* 1.15, ed. H. A. WILSON (Oxford, 1894), p. 14, and had perhaps gotten there by way of Jerome, Tertullian, or ultimately a *Vetus Latina* reading of Ezek. 18:23.

These strong arguments against episcopal abdication show a significant break with some of the greatest traditions of early medieval hagiography. Accounts of bishop-saints leaving their pastoral charge for the monastery were nothing new in episcopal *vitalae*; the nature and extent of the protests of their flock were.³⁵ The strength of the arguments against Remaclus' abdication does not exactly fit with what we know of the purpose of Heriger's rewriting of the *Vita Remaculi*. The text was destined for the monks of Stavelot, who would have considered their spiritual vocation of prayer and retreat from the world as superior to the pastoral activity of the secular clergy.

Heriger affords Remaclus a rebuttal.³⁶ Remaclus begins by stating that the arguments put forth against his abdication were meant to injure and not to deter him. He assures the people that they have done nothing to lead him to this decision. He then considers the popular motif of Mary and Martha, who represented the contemplative and active lives, respectively.³⁷ Remaclus extols the similar actions of earlier bishop-saints, pointing out that "many saints before your time have done likewise [i.e. retired to monasteries], if only we happened to be their equal in merit."³⁸

Biblical figures serve as examples in Remaclus' defense of the *vita contemplativa*: Moses fought not with arms but with prayers. Abraham, Elisha, Elijah, and John the Baptist each chose the eremitical life over the social one. Compelling though the effort to emulate these archetypes may have been, the crux of Heriger's argument for Remaclus lies in the saint's ability to continue helping his flock in the here and now, not through instruction and care, but through prayer. Remaclus will be more valuable to his flock as a warrior in prayer

35. One would be hard-pressed to compile a better list of bishops who abdicated than that of Peter Damiani, in his letter to Pope Nicholas II requesting permission to resign his own see ca. 1060, ed. K. REINDEL, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 4.2 (Munich, 1988), no. 72, pp. 326-366; cf. no. 57, pp. 162-190. St. Arnulf appears among Damiani's 30 examples (pp. 348-350); Remaclus does not. Cf. above, nn. 24-25.

36. The chapter title, "Item excusatio ejusdem sancti viri," was supplied later by the canon Anselm, the continuator of Heriger's *Gesta pontificum*. In his letter of dedication to Anno II of Cologne (written in 1056), Anselm describes how he had provided chapter headings to Heriger's portion of the *Gesta pontificum*. ANSELM, *Epistola ad Annonem*, ed. KÖPKE, MGH SS 7, p. 162⁷⁻⁹.

37. HERIGER, *Vita Remaculi*, c. 51, p. 186³⁵⁻³⁸. See GILES CONSTABLE, "The interpretation of Mary and Martha," in *Three studies in medieval religious and social thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 3-141, esp. pp. 31-43.

38. HERIGER, *Vita Remaculi*, c. 51, p. 186⁴²: "Fecerunt itidem ante tempora vestra sancti, quorum nos suppare esse meriti utinam contingeret."

than as a pastor in action. He assures them that he can fight the snares of the devil and "through my prayer, look after your interests here [i.e. on earth]." ³⁹

Remaculus' justification for abdication was the less original of the two sides of the debate. For some of these biblical examples as well as the language of monastic spiritual warfare, Heriger drew from another text written by the monks of Stavelot: a homily to be read on Remaculus' feast-day. This homily was written after the *Vita prima*, probably in the early tenth century. ⁴⁰ It treats Remaculus' abdication matter-of-factly, noting that a worthy successor was found in Theodard, and follows with praise and justification for the monastic vocation. Heriger's militant language regarding the spiritual warfare waged by monks stems in large part from the homily, which touts John the Baptist, Moses, and the desert fathers as heroes of the eremitical life. ⁴¹

The solution, that Remaculus will continue to serve his flock in the spiritual battle against evil, corresponds closely to how monks of the tenth century would likely have justified their vocation. Did Heriger mean for the arguments put forth by the *prudenteriores* to have been so strong, or is it merely our failure to grasp the extent to which the social role played by monks was valued in comparison to their counterparts in the secular clergy? Certainly Notker, and to a lesser extent Werinfrid of Stavelot and Heriger of Lobbes, all felt the pressures of the active life as it clashed with their monastic

39. HERIGER, *Vita Remaculi*, c. 51, p. 187⁵⁻⁷: "ut et ego versutias illic antiqui hostis proculcare et de illic instruendis lucra cumulare et *vestris hic commodis mea oratione valeam inservire*." This evokes the sentiment expressed by Guy PHILIPPART, "Le saint comme parure de Dieu, héros séducteur et patron terrestre," pp. 138-142, who noticed Heriger's tendency to emphasize the aid that saints could provide people in the present world, as opposed to their soteriological role.

40. *Homilia in natale sancti Remaculi* (BHL 7118), AASS Sept. I, pp. 726-728. Here I differ from BAIX, "Nouvelles recherches sur les deux biographies de saint Remacle," in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller* 1 (Louvain, 1914), pp. 266-285, here, p. 278, who argues that the homily was written before the Viking attack on Stavelot in 881 because it makes no mention of it. The homily first appears in the mid-tenth-century "Codex Stabulensis" (BAMBERG, *Staatsbibliothek*, Hist. 161, 87r-102v), on which see above, n. 14.

41. *Homilia in natale sancti Remaculi*, c. 6, col. 726E-F: "Non desertor pugnae spiritualis: vel ducatus ovium suarum, sed ut bonus praeliator, ubi minus praeliantes milites inesse perspexit." Cf. HERIGER, *Vita Remaculi*, c. 51, p. 186⁴⁵⁻⁴⁹: "ut fortissimi praeliatores Dei teneri intra claustra requietionis nolebant, sed in apertum certaminis campum sponte prosiliebant, non desertores pugnae spiritualis effecti, nec mercenariis ab aspectu luporum subterfugientibus comparandi, sed ubi aut minus praeliantes aspiciant, aut hostes in comminus insistentes incumbant, illic se fortiter congressuros ingerebant." The textual affinities were first noticed by BAIX, "Nouvelles recherches sur les deux biographies de saint Remacle," p. 279.

sensibilities. Notker, who most likely held the post of provost of the famous monastery of Saint-Gall earlier in his career, patronized monasteries throughout the diocese of Liège despite his proclivity for founding houses of canons within the city walls.⁴² Heriger, as Notker's secretary, often formed part of the episcopal entourage before receiving the abbacy of Lobbes in 990. Werinfrid, the protégé of the able administrator Odilo (†954), headed Stavelot's writing office prior to becoming abbot, after which he continued Odilo's efforts to increase the abbey's possessions.⁴³ The degree to which all three were active in the world varied: certainly Notker's responsibilities as bishop and imperial advisor weighed the heaviest. Even if Notker had not himself suggested that Heriger provide this particular set of legal arguments against episcopal abdication, he would have found this chapter of great interest.

At a time when episcopal ideals were heavily influenced by monasticism, bishops were actively seeking arguments that would keep the holy men of their time tending flocks. A couple of decades after Heriger wrote the *Vita Remacli*, these contrasting ideals would come to a head in the career of Notker's close friend, St. Adalbert of Prague (†997). Adalbert twice abandoned his episcopal-missionary post in Bohemia for monastic solitude at Rome and was forced back both times by synods convened at the urging of the archbishop of Mainz. At these synods, the debate on the legal issue of Adalbert's freedom to abandon his see was heated (*litigium grande*). On his second reinstatement, which set Adalbert on a path leading ultimately to his martyrdom, it was Notker of Liège who personally escorted the expelled monk from Italy.⁴⁴

42. Notker's position at Saint-Gall is uniquely reported in the *Annales Hildesheimenses*, anno 1008, ed. WAITZ, MGH SS rer. Germ. [8] (1878), p. 30. Kurth had questioned the veracity of this information, *Notger de Liège*, pp. 37-38, though cf. Jean-Louis KUPPER, "Notger de Liège: un évêque lotharingien aux alentours de l'an mille," in *Lotharingia: eine europäische Kernlandschaft um das Jahr 1000*, ed. H.-W. HERRMANN and R. SCHNEIDER (Saarbrücken, 1995), pp. 143-153, here, p. 144. On foundations of secular canons in Liège, see Hubert SILVESTRE, "Sur une des causes de la grande expansion de l'ordre canonial dans le diocèse de Liège aux X^e et XI^e siècles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 31 (1953): 65-74.

43. Werinfrid signs several charters from the mid-940s as the monastery's chancellor, ed. HALKIN and ROLAND (1909), nos. 66-69, pp. 153-161. See BAIX, *Étude sur l'abbaye et principauté de Stavelot-Malmédy* (Paris, 1924), p. 135, and above, n. 14.

44. *Vita antiquior Adalberti* (BHL 37), c. 18 and 22, ed. J. KARAWASIŃSKA, *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, n.s. 4.1 (Warsaw, 1962), pp. 26-27 and 33-34, esp. p. 34: "Ergo multis lacrimis fratrum dulce monasterium linquens, cum summae discrecionis viro Notherio episcopo ultra Alpes proficiscitur." On this text, cf. Johannes FRIED,

The rules regarding episcopal abdication and deposition were serious concerns of bishops well before the late tenth century. Some of the best legal minds of the mid-ninth century were occupied with how to deal with bishops who had fallen out of political favor, the best example being those bishops who sided with Lothar I during the failed coup of 833.⁴⁵ This incident not only became a lasting concern of the legally-minded archbishop Hincmar of Reims (†882), it may well bring us close to the original composition of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.⁴⁶

Heriger may have been familiar with ninth-century incidents, though one need not look that far into the past to see why the legal subtleties of episcopal abdication and expulsion were hot topics at

"Gnesen – Aachen – Rom : Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert : Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben," in *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren*, ed. M. BORGOLTE and B. SCHELLER (Berlin, 2002), pp. 235-279, who even goes so far as to suggest that Notker himself was its author. See also Teresa DUNIN-WASOWICZ, "Le culte de saint Adalbert vers l'an 1000 et la fondation de l'église Saint-Adalbert à Liège," in *La collégiale Saint-Jean de Liège : mille ans d'art et d'histoire*, ed. J. DECKERS (Liège, 1982), pp. 35-38.

45. Of the several bishops tried for their rebellion against Louis the Pious, the case of Ebbo of Reims was the most important. It is significant that the Thionville synod of 835 which deposed Ebbo required of him a written confirmation of his own unworthiness. See *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. F. GRAT et al. (Paris, 1964), p. 17: "Ebo in plenaria sinodo capitale crimen confessus, seque tanto, id est episcopali, ministerio indignum proclamans *propriaque scriptione confirmans*..." Cf. FLODOARD, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 2.20, ed. M. STRATMANN, MGH SS 36 (1998), pp. 183-189. This looks like an effort to conform to Gregory the Great's instructions and thus make Ebbo's deposition canonical, and we see the first mention of JE 1872 in the Carolingian period in this context. The *Libellus* of Bishop Theoderich of Cambrai, MGH Conc. 3 (1984), pp. 290-293, lists several letters from Gregory on the procedure for episcopal resignation (p. 292). For the context of Theoderich's *libellus*, see Jean DEVISSE, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims (845-882)*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1975), pp. 71-95, who gives it great import.

The see of Reims would again face arguments about canonical deposition/abdication in the 990s, when Gerbert vied with Arnulf for the office of archbishop. Gerbert's legal defense against his own dismissal appears in his letter to Wilderode of Strasbourg (late 995), ed. HAVET, *Lettres de Gerbert* (Paris, 1889), no. 217, pp. 203-230, a copy of which Gerbert had also sent to Notker of Liège along with Epist. no. 193, ed. WEIGLE, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 2 (Weimar, 1966), pp. 234-235. This defense is repeated in RICHER, *Historiae* 4.102-106, ed. HOFFMANN, MGH SS 38 (2000), pp. 302-306. Ebbo frequently comes up in Gerbert's *Acta concilii Remensis*, ed. PERTZ, MGH SS 3 (1839), pp. 658-686, where, at the end of his long series of proofs, Gerbert reproduces Arnulf's own *libellus abdicationis* which he notes was written "secundum exemplar abdicationis praedecessoris suis Ebonis," c. 53-54, p. 685. See also Jason GLENN, *Politics and history in the tenth century: the work and world of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 98-109.

46. See Horst FUHRMANN, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries," in *Papal letters in the early middle ages* (Washington, 2001), pp. 170-173. Perhaps the most plausible placement of "Pseudo-Isidore" (an extremely complex issue) is within the circle of Ebbo in his controversy with Hincmar. Fuhrmann notes, p. 171, that Ebbo's deposition "would have been almost impossible according to Pseudo-Isidore..."

Liège in the 970s. The evidence converges on the career and writings of Rather of Lobbes/Liège/Verona. All told, Rather had been expelled from the office of bishop a total of four times, thrice from the see of Verona and once from Liège itself.⁴⁷ In his writings, he complained bitterly of his unfair treatment at the hands of laymen, hostile clergy, and fellow bishops. The complaint very frequently fell along the lines of canon law. When the clergy of Verona had driven him out and placed a local rival on the see, Rather wrote the pope asking whether or not he was still legally a bishop.⁴⁸ One of the justifications for Rather's later expulsion from Liège may have been his uncertain status as bishop of Verona, thus making the language of adultery regarding a bishop and his see highly relevant. In his remarkable polemic against Archbishop Rodbert of Trier entitled *Phrenesis*, Rather recounts how he protested his expulsion through appeal to canon law.⁴⁹ We can well imagine that a variety of legal arguments were invoked for and against Rather in the mid-950s, and even as late as 972, when Notker listened to testimony from the monks of Lobbes about Rather's seizure of the monastery from Folcuin.⁵⁰

Rather found ample justification that he had been treated unlawfully in the Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore. At one point he specifically invokes the decree of Pope Evaristus which asserts the indissolubility of the spiritual marriage of a bishop and his church.⁵¹ Scholars have not seen Rather's use of Pseudo-Isidore as clear proof that Lobbes or Liège possessed a copy of the collection, since he could have become familiar with it in Verona or many of the other places where he spent time, voluntarily or otherwise.⁵² But even if it

47. At the beginning of his *De translationis sancti Metronis*, ed. P.L.D. REID, CCCM 46 (1976), p. 11, Rather refers to himself thus: "ex Laubiense Veronensis ex monacho exulis, ex exule presulis, infelicissimi Attali ritu facti infecti refecti defecti iterum (quo solus factor infector refector defector nouit), omine facti infecti refecti..." Here Rather draws from Orosius' account of Priscus Attalus: *Historia aduersum paganos* 7.42.7.

48. RATHER, *Epistola ad Agapetum papam* (951), ed. F. WEIGLE, MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 1 (Weimar, 1949), no. 7, pp. 33-43. Rather may have written this letter while at Lobbes; cf. below, n. 53.

49. RATHER, *Phrenesis*, c. 11-12, ed. REID, CCCM 46A (1984), pp. 206-208. See also RATHER, *De contemptu canonum*, MGH Briefe 1, no. 16, pp. 82-83 (this text was written at Verona in 963), and RUOTGER, *Vita Brunonis* (BHL 1468), c. 38, ed. I. OTT, MGH SS rer. Germ. n.s. 10 (Weimar, 1951), p. 40.

50. FOLCUIN, *Gesta abbatum Lobensium*, c. 28, p. 70. Cf. DIERKENS, *Abbayes et chapitres*, pp. 111-122. (The bishops of Liège had doubled as the abbots of Lobbes for the first half of the tenth century).

51. RATHER, *De contemptu canonum*, p. 79.

52. This presence of manuscripts containing the *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae* in the diocese of Liège has not been demonstrated; see Horst FUHRMANN, *Einfluß und Ver-*

cannot be proven that Rather wrote any texts drawing from Pseudo-Isidore while at Lobbes, his home monastery clearly had copies of his works in the late tenth century.⁵³ It is also possible that a canon-law codex containing Pseudo-Isidorian excerpts ended up in the diocese of Liège by way of Rather himself.⁵⁴ Heriger's account of Remaculus' abdication increases the plausibility that Pseudo-Isidore was known in the diocese of Liège in the late tenth century.

Heriger's insertion of legal sources into a hagiographic text has ramifications for our knowledge of legal studies in Lotharingia during this period. While his use of canon law does not establish that there was a legal "school" in the diocese of Liège during Notker's pontificate, it does show that local churchmen knew how to address issues of office through recourse to legal texts. There are faint parallels between Heriger's attempt to answer the question of what were the legal repercussions of a bishop who wished to leave his see voluntarily and the emperor asking Bishop Wazo of Liège for legal opinions on ecclesiastical questions some 70 years later.⁵⁵

When Augustin Fliche posited a gradual reform pulse in Lotharingia stretching from Rather to Wazo (the first bishop to stand up to the emperor's meddling in ecclesiastical affairs in the 1040s), other scholars pointed to the lack of evidence for the intervening decades.⁵⁶ From Wazo's pontificate and after, the legal activity at

breitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen: von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit, Schriften der MGH 24.2 (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 462-466, esp. n. 108.

53. Rather seems to have been especially keen on disseminating copies of his works. Folcuin refers the reader in search of more information to Rather's letter to the pope: *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, c. 19, p. 63¹²⁻¹⁴. For the manuscripts of Rather's works at Lobbes, see DOLBEAU, "Nouvelles recherches sur les manuscrits et l'œuvre de Rathier," pp. 374-407. Rather wrote his *Conclusio deliberativa* (ed. REID, CCCM 46 [1976], pp. 3-37), another text showing the influence of Pseudo-Isidore, on the eve of his expulsion from Liège in 955.

54. BRUSSELS, KBR 495-505. The Dionysio-Hadriana forms the core of this composite codex, though a variety of texts (including brief portions of Pseudo-Isidore, f. 15v-16v) were added later. See Gérard FRANSEN, "Les manuscrits canoniques de l'abbaye d'Orval," in *Aureavallis: mélanges historiques réunis à l'occasion du neuvième centenaire de l'Abbaye d'Orval* (Liège, 1975), pp. 111-132. Fransen suggests that the Calabrian monks who first inhabited Orval were responsible for its eventual appearance in Lotharingia, however, the marginal comment on f. 66r, "recognovi semel Mantue," may well be from the hand of Rather himself, who was once based not far at all from Mantua in Verona. Bischoff has already discerned Rather's own hand in this manuscript, though at f. 205v: Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Anecdota novissima: Texte des vierden bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984), p. 11. I hope to investigate this issue further.

55. See ANSELM, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, c. 58 and 65, pp. 224, 228-229.

56. Augustin FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne 1: la formation des idées grégoriennes* (Paris, 1924), pp. 74-128. Cf. Gerd TELLENBACH, *Libertas: Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 124, n. 15 (= Church, state and

Liège becomes more visible in the sources.⁵⁷ However, one mere chapter in the *vita* of a bishop-saint reveals how Heriger drew from authentic and forged papal letters to clarify a legal position. Perhaps an insistence on manuscripts of canon-law collections at the expense of legal issues, concepts, and terminology hidden in narrative sources has encouraged us to overlook a legal tradition that had begun to gather steam earlier than previously thought. Decades before the influential collection of Burchard of Worms, there were Notker and Heriger. Their students were instilled with the value of consulting the “decrees of the fathers” for a variety of pressing issues.⁵⁸ Heriger in turn taught Olbert, later abbot of Gembloux and St-Jacques of Liège, whom Sigebert credits with a fundamental role in the compilation of Burchard’s famous *Decretum*.⁵⁹ Burchard gave ample room to the issues of episcopal abdication and expulsion, citing the letter of

Christian society at the time of the Investiture Contest, trans. R.F. BENNETT [Oxford, 1959], p. 102, n. 1: “The ‘Lotharingian law schools’ play a great part in recent literature. It has been usual to rate their influence very highly, but there has rarely been any attempt to bring forward evidence of their existence. Thorough examination suggests the need for great caution in discussing them.”).

57. See Charles DEREINE, “L’école canonique liégeoise et la réforme grégorienne,” in *Annales du 33^e congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique* (Brussels, 1951), pp. 79-94.

58. This is the milieu in which Wazo was educated. Bishop Adelbold of Utrecht, another student of Notker and Heriger, was influential in the composition of the *Passio Friderici* (BHL 3157), an account of the martyrdom of Adelbold’s ninth-century predecessor at Utrecht. On the use of canon law in this *passio*, see Patrick CORBET, “Interdits de parenté, hagiographie et politique: la *passio Friderici episcopi Traiectensis* (ca. 1024),” *Ius commune: Zeitschrift für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 23 (1996): 1-98, esp. pp. 37-51; Corbet also discusses the Lotharingian legal schools on pp. 93-97.

59. SIGEBERT OF GEMBOUX, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, c. 27, ed. PERTZ, MGH SS 8, p. 536¹⁸⁻³²: “Is [Burchardus] Baldrico iuniori Tungrensium episcopo fiducialiter mandat – eius nempe contubernalis et amicus in palacio regis fuerat, – ut sibi aliquem litterali scientia praeditum dirigat, cuius ope et doctrina ipse in eruditione scripturarum proficere valeat. Quis tanto viro mitti dignus esset diligenter quaeritur, et tandem ad hoc nullus Olberto magis idoneus invenitur, et bona omnium de eo estimatione, ad urbem Vangionum dirigitur... Episcopus nobilis et potens non dedignatur se submittere ad formam discipuli, monachus humilis et peregrinus non timet in tanto viro operam exhibere magistri... [on the *Decretum* specifically] dum Olberto dictante et magistrante magnum illud canonum volumen centonizavit.” Even though Burchard’s own education at Lobbes was shown to be a later invention (see André BOUTEMY, “En lisant Sigebert de Gembloux,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 15 [1936]: 987-996), there are no strong reasons to doubt Sigebert’s testimony on his own teacher, or to look for centers other than Lobbes for where Olbert had gained a solid legal education. For Olbert’s education at Lobbes, then Paris, Troyes, and Chartres, see *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, c. 26, p. 536⁶⁻¹³. Cf. Michel DE WAHA, “Sigebert de Gembloux faussaire? Le chroniqueur et les ‘sources anciennes’ de son abbaye,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 55 (1977): 989-1036, here, pp. 1027-1028, who suggests that Sigebert embellished his account of Olbert’s role in the *Decretum* in order to enhance the prestige of Gembloux.

Pseudo-Evaristus as well as several from Gregory I, including the one from which Heriger drew in the *Vita Remacii*.⁶⁰

Exhortatio ad fratres

The second expansion that I will explore comes at the end of Heriger's *Vita Remacii*. The scene of a saint's death frequently served as the dramatic pinnacle of his or her *vita*; this was especially true for the *vitae* of bishop-saints.⁶¹ For the *vitae* of monastic founders, the saint's last words could outline some of the guiding principles for the fledgling community.⁶² The *Vita prima Remacii* does not contain an overly elaborate death scene. It merely states that "worn out with old age, Remacius said farewell to everyone and commended them to God, and reaching the end of life he rendered his blessed soul to heaven."⁶³ This "farewell" affords Heriger the opportunity to present a long speech in which Remacius imparts his final words of wisdom to his followers and establishes morals for them to live by.⁶⁴

In Remacius' exhortation to his monks, Heriger presents a philosophy of living reflective of his unique time, place, and mind. To the modern eye the end result seems an uneasy blend of Christian morals and pagan wisdom. However, it was not strange for Heriger to combine these two strains of thought. As a Benedictine monk and

60. Burchard reproduces three of Gregory's letters on the abdication of an ill bishop: *Decretum* 1.188-189, 191, PL 140, cols. 602D-606B, the same letters and order (JE 1819, JE 1663, and JE 1872) as found in JOHN THE DEACON'S *Vita Gregorii* 4.39, PL 105, cols. 201-203. Cf. PETER DAMIANI, *Epist.* no. 72, MGH Briefe 4.2, pp. 331-332, who uses John the Deacon ("is qui registri volumen explicuit") to reinforce his view that JE 1819 conveys a bishop's right to abdicate (see above, n. 35). JE 1872 appears in a slightly altered form in the eleventh-century Italian *Collectio canonum in libris* V, 1.162, ed. M. FORNASARI, CCCM 6 (1970), pp. 109-110, and in its original form in GRATIAN, *Decretum* II.7.1.14, ed. FRIEDBERG (Leipzig, 1879), cols. 572-573.

61. See Georg SCHEIBELREITER, "The death of the bishop in the early middle ages," in *The end of strife*, ed. D. M. LOADES (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 32-43, and Michel LAUWERS, "La mort et le corps des saints: la scène de la mort dans les *vitae* du haut moyen âge," *Le Moyen Âge* 94 (1988): 21-50.

62. One early example is EUGIPPIUS' *Vita Severini* (BHL 7655), c. 43, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, MGH SS rer. Germ. [26] (1898), pp. 50-51. I would like to thank Michael McCormick for this particular reference in addition to a great many others. See also LAUWERS, "La mort et le corps des saints," p. 25.

63. *Vita prima Remacii*, c. 7, p. 108¹⁸⁻²⁰: "...ultimo jam senio fessus, valeicens omnibus eosque opifici Deo commendans metam mortis attigit, beatamque caelo animam reddidit."

64. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 188¹⁰⁻¹³: "Eo tempore et beatus Remacius iam senior, sed moribus quam annis maturior, diem sibi vocationis intelligens imminere, quo recompensaret honor in caelis quod triverat labor in terris, morem gerere decrevit subiectis. Quos accersitos et de abcessu patris suaeque desolatione mestos, his ultimis solatus est verbis..."

prominent theologian, his faith was not in question. As a scholar immersed in the literature of classical antiquity, he allowed not only the style but also the content of the writings of the ancients to inform his own worldview. Over five hundred years after Jerome claimed to have been tormented by his own Ciceronian leanings, Heriger felt comfortable placing dozens of proverbs from pagan authors into the mouth of a seventh-century bishop-saint.⁶⁵

Unlike the debate on abdication, scholars have certainly been aware of Heriger's use of ancient authors and have endeavored to identify the precise quotations that he employed. The sheer quantity of classical quotations is striking: Köpke identified over thirty borrowings (mainly from Horace, followed by Cicero) in the *exhortatio* alone.⁶⁶ Noting the proverbs shared between Heriger's *Vita Remacli* and an early-eleventh-century *florilegium* of classical authors in Freising, Robert Babcock named Heriger as the likely author of this proverb compilation.⁶⁷

Generally, the *exhortatio*, combined with the highly stylized letter-preface to Werinfrid of Stavelot, are seen as the literary polish that an intellectual like Heriger added to the rewritten *vita*. In this case, the display of knowledge through an abundance of erudite quotations from classical authors marked the text with the style held as an ideal at the schools in the diocese of Liège at that time. The style served to increase the prestige of the commissioner of the work (Notker), the author (Heriger), the recipients (Werinfrid and the monks of Stavelot), and of course, the saint (Remaclus). But at what point does the effort at ornamentation end and an approbation of the content of the message contained in these words of pagan wisdom begin?

In contrast to the *exhortatio ad fratres*, one might be content to view the classical citations in the letter-preface to Werinfrid as an

65. See JEROME, *Epistola* 22.29-30, ed. I. HILBERG, CCSL 54.1 (Vienna, 1910), pp. 189-190.

66. Köpke identified most of the quotations from Horace and Cicero, except Heriger's warning against sloth, *Vita Remacli*, c. 55, p. 189¹⁻²: "Segnitiam devitate, quia 'tardis mentibus non facile comitatur virtus' (CICERO, *Tuscul. disp.* 5.24)."

67. Babcock also noted the use of certain ancient proverbs that had eluded Köpke. For Heriger's citations of the "Caecilius Balbus" collection, see BABCOCK, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium*, pp. 175-177. Their appearance in the Freising *Florilegium* (MUNICH, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, clm 6292, f. 84r-94r) encouraged Babcock to identify of Heriger of Lobbes as the compiler of this *florilegium*.

exercise in stylistic embellishment.⁶⁸ When medieval authors wanted to impress readers with their own knowledge of the classics, they often signaled their citations, especially the more obscure ones, to the reader. This is true of the letter-preface, where Heriger often provides hints to prepare his reader for a quotation.⁶⁹ Remarkably, Heriger never indicates that an ancient author is being drawn from in Remaclus' *exhortatio*. It seems to me that Heriger's use of pagan proverbs in this latter case can no longer be considered merely an effort at literary polish. Heriger is trying to locate the common ground between the truths of Christian morality and those of ancient ethics. The *exhortatio ad fratres* presents a coherent philosophy of life and death.

Heriger's method is to couple pagan proverbs with "Christian" or universal teachings; one reinforces the other in an attempted harmonization. Generally, Christian moral precepts are followed by a *quia* and two or three classical quotations for support. For instance, Remaclus tells his followers to offer complete confession of faults to God and uncover all hidden temptations; this is followed by Horace's warning: "the evil shame of fools hides their unhealed sores."⁷⁰ They should cherish patience, because (again Horace) "no one is so savage that he cannot be calmed, if only he would lend a patient ear to cultivation."⁷¹ Guard against pride, sloth, and envy; cherish obedience, patience, chastity, and peace: these issues are at the heart of the *exhortatio*, and each admonition is supported by ancient adages.

A particularly revealing demonstration of how Heriger used the pagans to support Christian ethics occurs when he unfurls a triad of quotations from Horace, Cicero, and the much lesser known poet, Tibullus, to reinforce a passage right out of the *Regula Benedicti*. The *Rule* warns the abbot against overly concerning himself with transitory things and reminds him that he must give account for the souls

68. At many places in this letter, Heriger borrows from the prefaces of Boethius, who also used an epistolary style. See Robert BABCOCK, "Heriger and the study of philosophy at Lobbes in the tenth century," *Traditio* 40 (1984): 307-317.

69. E.g. *Epistola ad Werinfridum*, pp. 109-110: "ut ait oratorum maximus [Cicero]... ut verbis cuiusdam sapientis [Horace] ...cui et a poeta praecipitur [Horace]... quod etsi eloquentissimum quendam dicentem [unidentified author]."

70. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 188³⁵⁻³⁷: "Confessionem veram delictorum Deo et praelatis offerte, temptationum pulsationes in ipso auditu detegite, *quia* 'Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat' (HORACE, *Epist.* 1.16.24)."

71. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 188⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰: "Pacientiam, 'quae miseriarum portus est' [=Caecilius Balbus] amplectimini; *quoniam* 'Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit, si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem' (HORACE, *Epist.* 1.1.39-40)."

entrusted to his care. Heriger turns the statement that the abbot should not complain for want of resources into a warning for the entire community :⁷²

Heriger	Source
And you should not complain of the potentially meager resources <i>Et de minori forte substantia non queramini</i>	<i>Regula Benedicti</i> 2.35
For he who makes sufficient use of things is not poor <i>Pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus</i>	Horace, <i>Epist.</i> 1.12.4
And Nature herself reminds us everyday how few, how cheap, and little her needs are <i>Ipsaque nos colidie natura ammonet, quam paucis, quam vilibus, quam parvis egeat rebus</i>	Cicero, <i>Tusc. disp.</i> 5.35
Let it be, the minds and cares of men are not relieved by wealth <i>Eslo, non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur</i>	Tibullus, <i>Eleg.</i> 3.3.21

Heriger's use of classical authors in this case is particularly striking. Benedict himself supports this admonition with two passages from Scripture : one should not complain of the lack of resources because he should remember what is written "Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. 6:33), and again : "There is no want to them that fear Him" (Psalm 33:10).⁷³ Heriger not only uses pagan wisdom to corroborate Benedict's message, he *replaces* the biblical passages with the sayings of pagan poets and philosophers. This was something that the monks of Stavelot — with the *Regula Benedicti* ingrained into their minds — were sure to have noticed.

Horace's pithy statements on moral living assured his popularity throughout the middle ages, though his works were never copied as much as in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the *aetas Horatiana*

72. HERIGER, *Vita Remacli*, c. 55, p. 189¹⁵⁻¹⁸. The quotations from Tibullus and Horace are both in the Freising Florilegium, f. 117v and f. 132v, respectively (ed. BABCOCK [1984], pp. 78 and 108). Köpke's edition (p. 189¹⁷) gives *vos* for *nos* and *pravis* for *parvis* in the Cicero quotation, but BRUSSELS, *KBR* II. 1180 (f. 23r) and AVERBODE, no. 12 (p. 49) give the more accurate reading reproduced here.

73. This borrowing from the *Regula Benedicti* has not been hitherto identified, ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ and J. NEUFVILLE, *Sources Chrétiennes* 181 (Paris, 1972), vol. 1, p. 450 : "Et ne causetur de minori forte substantia, meminerit scriptum : 'primum quaerite regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adiciuntur vobis,' (Matt. 6 :33) et iterum : 'Nihil deest timentibus eum' (Psalm 33 :10)."

according to Ludwig Traube.⁷⁴ Several of Heriger's Horatian citations, including Heriger's preliminary remark in the *exhortatio*: "to flee vices is virtue, and the beginning of wisdom is to abandon foolishness," all stem from Horace's first *Epistle*.⁷⁵ In the lines immediately preceding those Heriger chooses to quote, Horace lists what he saw to be the principle vices of his day. Remarkably, Horace's list is almost identical to the vices which became the cardinal sins of Christianity.⁷⁶

Some of Horace's moral sentiments were more easily applicable to Christian ethics than others. At the end of Remaclus' admonitions, Heriger presents a cluster of quotations from the ancients relating to the theme of death. The speech was after all a farewell address, so the theme of death and the afterlife had an appropriate place. In contrast to Cicero, Horace was unequivocal about the finality of death; for him it marked the "last line of things."⁷⁷ Heriger employs this phrase as well as Horace's "we are but shadow and dust" (*pulvis et umbra sumus*). Nearly every famous Horatian line on death appears in Remaclus' final speech, except his statement that death does not discriminate social classes, but visits rich and poor alike.⁷⁸ However, Heriger changes Horace's original emphasis on the uncertainty and finality of death to apply only to a death without the proper penance and absolution, which Remaclus describes as "crossing over in vain"

74. Traube had originally referred to an *aetas Horatiana*, sandwiched between the *aetas Virgiliana* in the ninth century and the *aetas Ovidiana* in the twelfth. Ludwig TRAUBE, *Einführung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen 2, ed. P. LEHMANN (Munich, 1911), p. 113. See also Birger MUNK OLSEN, "La popularité des textes classiques entre le IX^e et le XII^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14-15 (1986): 169-181.

75. HERIGER, *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 188³¹⁻³²: "Virtus sit vitium fugere, et sapientia prima stulticia caruisse (HORACE, *Epist.* 1.1.41)."

76. HORACE, *Epist.* 1.1.33-38: "Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus: / sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem / possis et magnam morbi deponere partem. / Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula quae te / ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello. Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator, / nemo adeo ferus est..." That is, avarice/cupidity, love of praise (*amor laudis*), envy, wrath, sloth, drunkenness, and lust. Cf. the clearest statement on the cardinal sins in the early middle ages, GREGORY I, *Moralia in Job* 31.45(87), ed. M. ADRIAEN, CCSL 143B (1985), p. 1610: "Primae autem eius [= superbiae] soboles, septem nimirum principalia vitia, de hac virulenta radice proferuntur, scilicet inanis gloria, invidia, ira, tristitia, avaritia, ventris ingluvies, luxuria." Even the order of the vices is the same! See Morton BLOOMFIELD, *The seven deadly sins: an introduction to the history of a religious concept, with special reference to medieval English literature* (East Lansing, 1952), pp. 45-46.

77. HORACE, *Epist.* 1.16.79: "Mors ultima linea rerum est." Horace often evokes this sentiment on the finality of death. Even the phrase for which he is best known to the modern world, "carpe diem," is tied to the transitory nature of life. See L. P. WILKINSON, *Horace and his lyric poetry* (London, 1968 [1945]), pp. 34-43.

78. HORACE, *Carm.* 1.4.13-14: "pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turris." On this frequently cited passage, see below, n. 84.

(*transire incassum*). Remaclus' final statement on death is a passage borrowed from Cicero, who was a bit more positive than Horace about the soul's fate in the afterlife.⁷⁹ Thus, even on the issue of the afterlife, Heriger attempts to use pagans to support his Christian position.⁸⁰

Heriger himself seems to acknowledge the *exhortatio* as the crowning achievement of his *Vita Remacii*. He refers to the "sweet admonitions" (*dulces admonitiones*) that Remaclus had just uttered. He has Remaclus say that if anyone benefits from his words of exhortation, then he will consider it his "masterpiece." The word employed for masterpiece, *palmarium*, is taken from the ancient playwright Terence.⁸¹

Heriger's rendering of Remaclus' words of exhortation warns the modern scholar against limiting the appreciation of classical authors in the middle ages to their style and elegance. Of course, the philosophical systems of pagan antiquity were employed by the Christian fathers to great effect. Philosophical arguments applied to questions of faith often engendered major theological controversies in late antiquity, and indeed, in the middle ages as well. Heriger's use of

79. Heriger closes with Cicero's remark that death will release the soul from desire and envy. *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 189³⁴⁻³⁵: "In bono autem opere finientes, 'beati erimus, cum relictis corporibus, cupiditatum omnium et emulationum expertes fuerimus' (CICERO, *Tusc. disp.* 1.19)." In this particular chapter in the *Tusculan disputations*, Cicero describes the soul's journey to the heavens and its pursuit of the contemplation of truth.

80. All of the passages on death that Heriger borrows from Horace are found in the Freising Florilegium, though Heriger alters some of them slightly in the *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 189²²⁻³³: "Vos quoque, karissimi, morituros scitote, ideo poenitentiae tempus indultum non paciamini, queso, transire incassum. Veniet, veniet dies certissime, cum frustra desideretis 'unius usuram horae' (CICERO, *Catil.* 1.12). Dum tempus est operamini bonum ad omnes, quia 'labuntur anni fugaces dieque truditur dies' (HORACE, *Carm.* 2.14.1-2, 2.18.15). 'Iam mortalia non speranda [immortalia ne speres] monet annus et album [almum] quae rapit hora diem' (*Carm.* 4.7.8). 'Mors ultima linea [rerum] est' (HORACE, *Epist.* 1.16.79). 'Perpetuus nulli datur usus, et heres heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam' (*Epist.* 2.2.175). 'Pulvis et umbra sumus' (*Carm.* 4.7.16). 'Omnes una manet mors [nox] et calcanda semel via loeti' (*Carm.* 1.28.15-16)." Heriger's alterations to Horace are noted in italics with Horace's original text in brackets. If Heriger was the compiler of the *florilegium*, then he likely made these alterations consciously. My rendering of "iam mortalia" and "loeti" for Köpke's "immortalia" and "laeti" comes from the independently circulating manuscripts of the *Vita secunda Remacii*, e.g. BRUSSELS, *KBR* II. 1180, f. 23r-v.

81. Heriger renders Terence's "id verost quo ego mi puto palmarium" (*Eunuchus* 5.4.8) as "id mihi erit palmarium," *Vita Remacii*, c. 55, p. 189²¹. Heriger had also quoted Terence (*Adelphi* 5.4.1) in the *Epistola ad Werinfridum*, p. 110¹¹⁻¹². Terence was a favorite author of Rather of Verona. In addition to over a dozen identified uses of Terence in Rather's works, a statement from one of his students, Bishop Everacrus of Liège (959-971) calls Terence "that familiar comic" (*illud comicum nostis*). See Hubert SILVESTRE, "Comment on rédigeait une lettre au X^e siècle: l'épître d'Éracle de Liège à Rathier de Vérone," *Le Moyen Âge* 58 (1952): 1-30, here, pp. 4 and 13.

the wisdom of the ancients in the *Vita Remacii* is fundamentally different. In this case, it was not ancient philosophical systems incorporated as a method, but rather the adages of ancient humanists seeking the manner of living well that appealed to Heriger. Heriger clearly presents pagan proverbs to reinforce an initial Christian ideal.

This does not mean that Heriger did not also appreciate the more scientific, logical, and mathematical works that he knew from antiquity.⁸² Indeed, he cherished the ideas as well as the ideals of the ancients. In his treatise on the Eucharist, Heriger would employ the same technique of the mutual reinforcement of Christian and profane ideas, only this time in reverse. He reinforces his forays into dialectical and mathematical reasoning through appeal to biblical passages.⁸³ However, the medium is important in these cases, and Heriger may have been the first medieval author to use the hagiographic genre as a forum for an attempted harmonization of elements of pagan wisdom and Christian teaching.

Did Heriger expect discontent from some of his readers? After all, there were probably mediums more appropriate than the hagiography of bishops and abbots to point out universal truths shared by pagans and Christians. On occasion, medieval hagiographers invoked the phrases of ancient poets, though most churchmen found the epistolary form more suitable for this type of display.⁸⁴ We should point out that

82. These works were transmitted largely through Boethius. On Heriger's positive view of ancient science, see Fidel RÄDLE, "Zur Bewertung der Antike in den hagiographischen Werken des Heriger von Lobbes," in *Gli umanesimi medievali*, ed. Cl. LEONARDI (Florence, 1998), pp. 539-550.

83. HERIGER, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, PL 139, col. 185. As noticed by BABCOCK, "Heriger and the study of philosophy at Lobbes," p. 313, two of Heriger's biblical quotations in the *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (Gen. 1:24 and Sap. 11:21) both follow passages lifted from Eriugena's *De divisione naturae* on the justification of dialectical and mathematical argumentation. Sap. 11:21: "omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti" often served to justify the pursuit of mathematics; see e.g. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymologiae* 3.4, ed. W. M. LINDSAY (Oxford, 1911). Heriger would reflect on Sap. 11:21 again at the beginning of the *Gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, c. 2, p. 166.

84. A notable example in hagiography is HORACE's *Carm.* 1.4.13-14, mentioned above, n. 78. This quotation appears in NOTKER BALBULUS' *Vita metrica sancti Galli* 2.2a (BHL 3256, ed. STRECKER, MGH Poet. lat. 4 [Berlin, 1914], p. 1106⁵⁻⁶), the *Acta Theodardi*, c. 11 (BHL 8046, AASS Sept. III [1750], col. 590C), the *Memoriale fundationis ecclesiae sancti Albani Namurcensis* (ed. G. PHILIPPART, p. 48), SIGEBERT OF GEMBLOUX's *Sermo de translationibus Luciae*, c. 14 (BHL 4999, ed. T. LIGHT, *Acta sanctae Luciae* [Heidelberg, 2008], p. 118), and others. The last three texts were written by Liégeois hagiographers. Guy PHILIPPART, "Le Mémorial de la fondation de Saint-Aubain (vers 1070): l'écrivain et les scribes," in *Histoire de Namur: nouveaux regards*, ed. Ph. JACQUET et al. (Namur, 2005), pp. 23-60, here, p. 38, notes the use of this passage by Cervantes, among others.

Heriger's use of classical authors may not have been readily apparent to many of his readers.⁸⁵ Köpke's edition of Heriger's *Vita Remacii*, with its identification and demarcation of most of the classical references, has the potential to blind us to the fact that these citations are not indicated in the manuscripts. While Stavelot's monks may have fared better in recognizing these references than those of many other monasteries of Europe, one would have needed an education in letters nearly equivalent to Heriger's to have identified the ultimate sources of these proverbs, and that was only possible if one's school possessed the works of Cicero, Horace, and much rarer poets, or had access to *florilegia* of classical authors.

One writer who did notice the pagan quotations in Heriger's *Vita Remacii* was the author of the *Vita Hadelini*. St. Hadelin was believed to have been a companion of Remacius who had founded the monastery of Celles.⁸⁶ His hagiographer drew so liberally from Heriger's *Vita Remacii* that scholars have often awarded Heriger (or Notker) authorship of this text as well.⁸⁷ However, Hadelin's own *exhortatio* to his followers is one of the strongest reasons to discount Heriger as the author. Hadelin gives advice in a valedictory speech which is set up identically to Remacius'. Even though much of the advice is the same, Hadelin's own farewell speech retains none of the pagan proverbs used by Heriger.⁸⁸

This trend finds a parallel in the proverb compilations of the eleventh century, which suggest that the use of pagan authors was on the decline.⁸⁹ At Liège, the schoolbook composed by Egbert in the early 1020s known as the *Fecunda ratis* shows a healthy (though perhaps subordinate) use of classical authors alongside the Bible, the

85. With the exception of Heriger's alteration of the *Regula Benedicti* discussed above, p. 51.

86. Celles (50°13'45"N, 5° 0'27"E), southeast of Dinant. *Vita Hadelini* (BHL 3733), AASS Feb. I (1658), pp. 372-376.

87. Jean BOLLAND, "Hadelinus, commentarius praeuius," AASS Feb. I, pp. 368-370, suggested Notker was the author. The challenge to Herigerian or Notkerian authorship was first laid out by Alain DIERKENS, "Un aspect de la christianisation de la Gaule du Nord à l'époque mérovingienne: la *Vita Hadelini* et les découvertes archéologiques d'Anthée et de Franchimont," *Francia* 8 (1980): 613-628, here, pp. 618-619.

88. Indicated by Jean MEYERS, "La *Vita sancti Hadelini*," in *Trésors d'art religieux au pays de Visé et saint Hadelin* (Visé, 1988), pp. 51-64, who also provides a translation of the *Vita Hadelini*.

89. Observed by C. H. TALBOT, "Introduction," *Florilegium morale Oxoniense, ms. Bodl. 633: secunda pars* (Louvain, 1956), pp. 13-14. Compilations with pagan authors pick up again in the twelfth century. In general, see Barry TAYLOR, "Medieval proverb collections: the West European tradition," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 19-35.

church fathers, and interestingly, oral tradition.⁹⁰ Writing only a few years later, the imperial chaplain Wipo based his *proverbia* exclusively on biblical models.⁹¹ The monk Otloh of Saint-Emmeram intended his collection of proverbs to serve as a Christian alternative to those of “Seneca” and “Cato” currently in circulation.⁹²

The decrees of the fathers had something to say about the wisdom of the ancients. I will not here explore the long and rich tradition of the guilt felt by medieval churchmen as they read and enjoyed the classics.⁹³ Let us only consider Gratian, who, though writing over a century after Heriger, assembled much of the earlier evidence (legal and otherwise) for and against the important question of the place of secular learning within the church. He begins this issue with a conciliar canon from the 398 Synod of Carthage, which prohibited bishops from reading profane books. It becomes clear, however, that Gratian does not himself advocate this harsh course.⁹⁴ The argument for the use of pagan wisdom was linked to biblical precedent: the church fathers invoked Moses’ command to use the “spoils of Egypt” (Exod. 12:35-37) to justify their own use of classical erudition.⁹⁵ Gratian, in his own aside, distinguishes between those who read the classics “for pleasure” (*ad voluptatem*) and those who read them “for learning” (*ad eruditionem*). He praises the latter group because “by reading [classical literature], they avoid the errors of the pagans, and that which they find useful therein, they devoutly invert (*devote invertant*) for the purpose of sacred learning.”⁹⁶ Gratian would have approved of Heriger’s synthesis. Indeed, a similar sentiment appears already in

90. EGBERT, *Fecunda ratis*, ed. E. VOIGT (Halle, 1889). Sigebert of Gembloux refers to Egbert’s work as the *Liber de aenigmatibus rusticis* in his *Catalogus de viris illustribus*, c. 147, ed. R. WITTE (Bern, 1974), p. 93.

91. WIPO, *Proverbia*, ed. H. BRESSLAU, MGH SS rer. Germ. [61] (1915), pp. 66-73.

92. OTLOH OF ST-EMMERAM, *Liber proverborum*, prol., ed. W. KORFMACHER (Chicago, 1936), p. 1.

93. See e.g. Jean LECLERCQ, *L’amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris, 1957), pp. 108-141, and IDEM, “L’humanisme des moines au moyen âge,” *Studi medievali* ser. 3, vol. 10 (1969): 69-116, which treats Otloh specifically on pp. 98-102.

94. GRATIAN, *Decretum* I, dist. 37, ed. FRIEDBERG (Leipzig, 1879), cols. 135-140. D. C. MUNRO, “The attitude of the western church toward the study of the Latin classics in the early middle ages,” *American Society of Church History* 8 (1890): 181-194, closes with this example.

95. See AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina Christiana* 2.40(60-61), ed. J. MARTIN, CCL 32 (1962), pp. 73-75.

96. GRATIAN, *Decretum* I, dist. 37, c. 8, col. 138: “Sed seculares litteras quidam legunt ad voluptatem, poetarum figmentis et verborum ornatu delectati; quidam vero ad eruditionem eas addiscunt, ut errores gentilium legendo detestentur, et utilia, que in eis invenerint, ad usum sacrae eruditionis devote invertant. Tales laudabiliter seculares litteras addiscunt.”

Heriger's contemporary, Ruotger, who distinguishes between the *causa* of the Bible and the *instrumentum* of secular learning.⁹⁷

C. Stephen Jaeger has done an extraordinary job of demonstrating the ways in which classical ideals penetrated the cathedral schools of the central middle ages.⁹⁸ Heriger belongs to that long tradition of scholars impacted by the content of texts from classical antiquity, ostensibly honored and preserved (i.e. copied) only for their literary elegance.⁹⁹ Remaclus' valedictory speech to his followers shows quite clearly how the wisdom of the ancients was alive and well in monastic and imperial milieux at the end of the first millennium. It also shows that Heriger of Lobbes should not be viewed as one who inserted a flood of classical quotations in order to gain the praise of his contemporaries for his erudition (though he may have enjoyed this as an ancillary benefit). The words and sentiments of Horace and others affected him, and he could not have given a greater tribute to these authors than by finding common ground between their beliefs and what he held to be universal truths revealed through the Christian tradition. Nor could he have found a better vehicle for the transmission of these ideas to the monks of Stavelot than in the final words of their founder.

Through these two themes, the decrees of the fathers and the wisdom of the ancients — that is, canon law and classical scholarship — we see the schools of the diocese of Liège on the verge of their eleventh-century apex. Just as with canon law, Heriger was an important figure in the transmission of the classics to subsequent generations. Rather of Verona, also very well-versed in ancient authors, was probably influential in this area as well. Like Heriger, Rather was fond of inserting pagan proverbs into his writings, and he often defended the study of the classics by likening them to the "spoils of Egypt."¹⁰⁰ And Heriger's student Olbert of Gembloux again proves

97. RUOTGER, *Vita Brunonis*, c. 8, MGH SS rer. Germ. n.s. 10, p. 9.

98. C. Stephen JAEGER, *The origins of courtliness : civilizing trends and the formation of courtly ideals, 935-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), IDEM, "Cathedral schools and humanist learning, 950-1150," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* 61 (1987) : 596-616, and IDEM, *The envy of angels : cathedral schools and European social ideals, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994).

99. For a later, and striking, example, see ERASMUS, *Colloquia : Convivium religiosum* (written in 1522), in *Opera omnia* 1.3 (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 251-252.

100. See Peter L. D. REID, *Tenth-century Latinity : Rather of Verona* (Malibu, 1981), pp. 31-42. Rather's favorite proverb collection seems to have been those of Publilius

to be an essential link in the chain : Olbert is credited with the copying of classical texts for the library of Gembloux.¹⁰¹

St. Remaclus represented the venerable history of the diocese of Tongeren-Maastricht-Liège. Though the seventh century does not look to us like a golden age of learning, for churchmen at the end of the first millennium it might have seemed otherwise. That is not to say that Heriger believed Remaclus to have been steeped in the classics, or that his parishioners knew the subtleties of canon law. However, the common belief of Heriger's time that various barbarian invasions had destroyed a cache of valuable historical documentation in their wake left this possibility open.¹⁰² The figure of Remaclus was carved anew in the intellectual and cultural traditions that Heriger and Notker now wished to stress. The ideal means to accomplish this goal was through expansions to Remaclus' earlier *vita*. By endowing a bishop-saint from the seventh century with the values of the tenth, the diocese of Liège could claim a much longer cultural continuity. Whether drawing from Gregory the Great, Horace, or others, Heriger of Lobbes was innovative in his use of tradition¹⁰³.

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Syrus; see REECE, *Learning in the tenth century*, p. 52. The Freising Florilegium contains these proverbs : MUNICH, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, cgm 6292, f. 143v-162r.

101. SIGEBERT, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, c. 42, p. 540, claims that Olbert had fifty volumes of secular works copied. See André BOUTEMY, "Un grand abbé du XI^e siècle, Olbert de Gembloux," *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur* 41 (1935): 43-85, here, pp. 69-75, and Tino LICH, *Untersuchungen zum biographischen Werk Sigeberts von Gembloux* (Heidelberg, 2005), pp. 134-135, who notes Sigebert's attempt to style Olbert as another Cassiodorus.

102. On this concept see WEBB, "Cathedrals of words," pp. 304-306.

103. This article went to press before I was able to examine two articles by Robert G. BABCOCK "Heriger of Lobbes and the theological tractates of Boethius," *Latomus* 68:3 (2009): 458-464, and "Heriger or Notger? The authorship of the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, the *Vita Remacii*, and the *Vita Landoaldi*," *Latomus* 68:4 (2009): 1027-1049. The latter is relevant to my n. 12. In addition, Babcock (p. 1040) identifies the *quidam eloquentissimus* in my n. 69 as Paul the Deacon.